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An Inaugural Lecture

DELIVERED ON FEB. 20TH AND 22ND, 1883,

BY

Harshell

W. SANDAY, M.A., D.D.

DEAN IRELAND'S PROFESSOR OF THE EXEGESIS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.



Parker and Co.
OXFORD, AND 6 SOUTHAMPTON-STREET,
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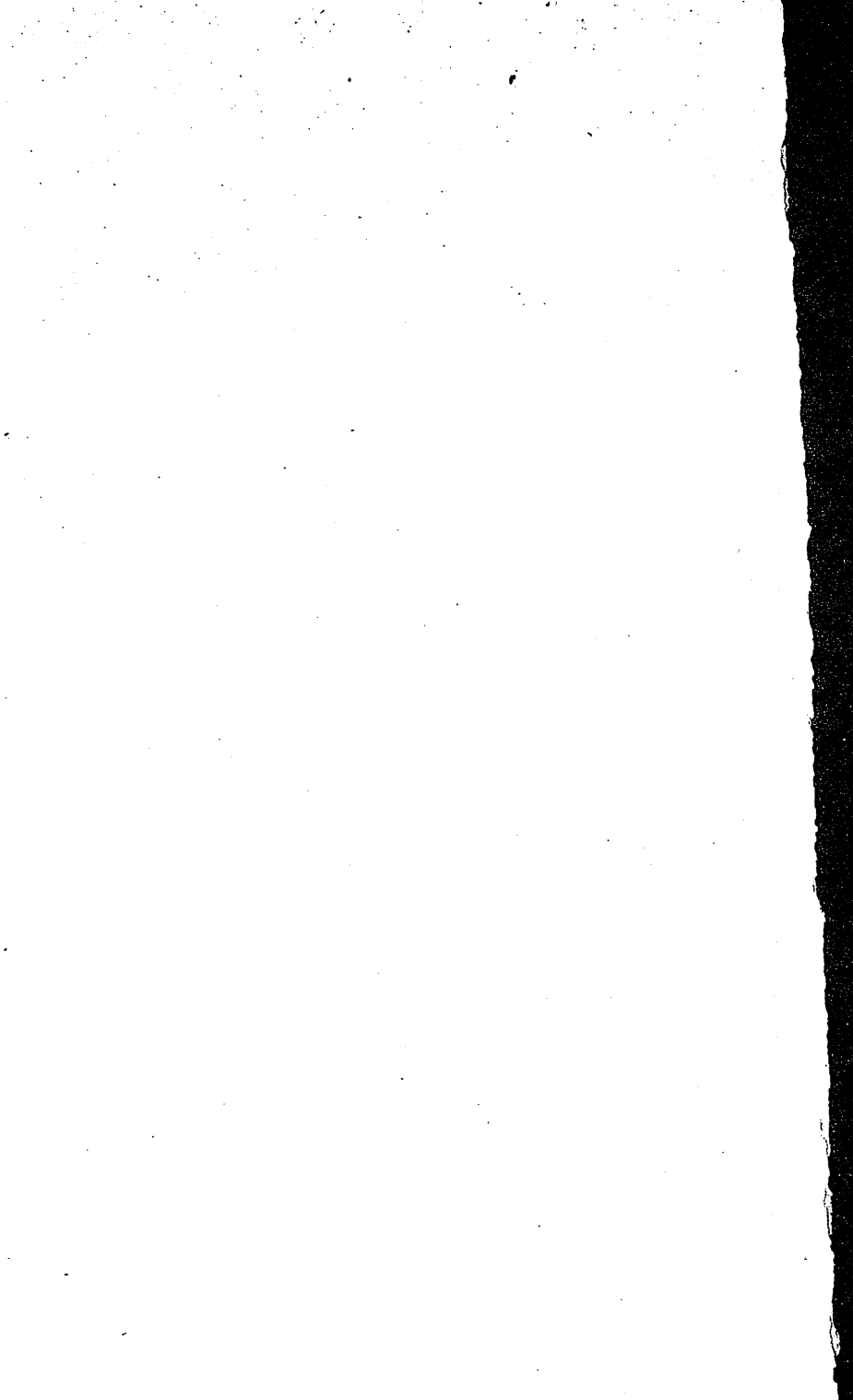
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The Study of the New Testament.

IT is natural to ask, "What are the scope and limits of a Chair which is described simply as a Chair of the 'Exegesis of Holy Scripture?'" There seem to be good reasons for interpreting this designation somewhat widely. The absence of any qualification, and, I may add, the construction placed upon the objects of the Chair by its first holder, would seem to imply that it was not necessarily restricted to the exegesis of the New Testament. And there might, perhaps, be a certain part of the field in which a Professor, who was duly qualified, might be able to supplement the work of his colleague in the Chair of Hebrew. In my own case, however, this qualification is absent; and I am at the same time only too conscious that the sphere of New Testament exegesis alone may well engross all the time and all the powers that it is possible for me to give to it. There is to this, perhaps, just one exception, a single point on which the Professor of Exegesis (even though no Hebraist) and the Professor of Hebrew might well join hands; I refer to the Septuagint. It is well known that the text of the LXX. is in anything but a satisfactory state. Indeed, only the bare beginnings have been made towards the construction of a text that shall at all deserve the name of scientific. Yet here in Oxford, if anywhere, the textual critic has a foundation laid ready to his hands. The collection of Holmes and Parsons, with all its imperfections, is a monument of industry and enterprise, which did honour to the University at the time—not otherwise fruitful in great

Scope and
limits of
the Chair.

Relation
to the
Chair of
Hebrew.

The Sep-
tuagint.

works—when it was made. And the dream has passed through my mind, that now, in these days of combined labour, in a centre which possesses so many advantages, if—as I am sanguine enough to hope—a sufficient interest in the study can be awakened in the minds of younger scholars, a scheme may some day be organised for revising the old materials, and bringing them up to the standard of modern requirements. When that was done, and the patristic evidence was also somewhat more closely sifted, we might look to possess amongst us sufficient experience and sufficient command of the principles of textual criticism to be able to construct a text which should rest upon a firmer basis than any hitherto published. I speak of this as a dream, which must in any case stand over to a not very near future. But whether or not I am myself ever permitted to take part in its practical realisation, it presents, I venture to think, an object of which the University should certainly not lose sight.

Other non-
Semitic
versions.

Nor should it be forgotten that there are other versions besides the LXX. The noble work of Dr. Field on the Hexapla may well spur the members of the sister University (though in this work we may claim a share, inasmuch as it was issued from our own Press) to emulate it in other directions. Some considerable portions of the Old Latin version, a daughter of the Septuagint, have recently been published without our participation^a. But a critical edition of the

Mr. Words-
worth's
Vulgate.

Vulgate is, I rejoice to think, in hands that will most worthily represent our University; and if it should be too great a tax upon the time and strength and, I may add, the purse of one man, to extend his labours from the New Testament to the Old, I hope that he will find fit successors and apt pupils to complete what he has begun.

^a Chiefly by E. Ranke and Ulysse Robert.

So far as the non-Semitic versions of the Old Testament are concerned, the Professor of Exegesis should, I think, be ready to lend such assistance as he can to any of his fellow-scholars who are willing to work at the subject. Within his own immediate domain, that of the New Testament, he will have a double duty. I may say at once that I fully accept, ^{Twofold duty of the Professor.} in all its parts, the obligation laid down in the New Statutes "to give instruction to students, to assist the pursuit of knowledge, and to contribute to the ad- ^{Research.} vancement of it." This last is a high and responsible function, and one that is necessarily limited by the ability of the individual. In this respect I have no little misgiving. But, such as they are, any abilities that I may have are at the service of the University; and I shall do my best not to let them lie idle. But the more immediate and pressing duty is that of teach- ^{Teaching.} ing. How properly to discharge this must be my first care. And here I would observe that there is a difference in the methods appropriate to these different branches of professorial activity, which, though it is well that they should be pursued together, makes it nevertheless desirable that in practice they should be kept distinct. In teaching, the important thing is *to* ^{Method appropriate to teaching.} *make the salient points of the subject really salient.* The students' minds will be limited in capacity. A certain amount they can hold, and no more. It will, therefore, be the business of the Professor to see, so far as he can, that what they really retain is, as a matter of fact, that which will be of greatest value to them. And the point of most importance will be the principles running through details, provided only that those principles are sound; so that the chief object of the Professor should be, to help the pupil truly to ascertain and fix these principles in such a way that he may group any further knowledge which he may obtain in its proper place

Method appropriate to inquiry.

round them. The method of an inquirer is, to a certain extent, contrasted with this. For him the ruling principle will be *to call nothing common or unclean*. The smallest facts will often be for his purpose the most valuable. They may be just the straws that shew which way the current is flowing ; and he cannot tell, until he has tried, what facts will possess this value, and what will not. When the process of inquiry is completed, and the golden thread of principle has been more or less disentangled from details, then the refuse matter may be put on one side, but not before. If given out to the pupil undigested, such surplus details as these will only confuse him. At the same time, every principle will need illustration and proof, and the greatest pains should be taken to make such illustration or proof exact.

Order appropriate to teaching.

The *order* appropriate to teaching will vary as well as the method. In inquiry, nothing can be taken for granted ; in teaching, it may be desirable to take much for granted, provided that the nature of the proof is sufficiently indicated. The inquirer works for a long time in the dark ; but it is the duty of the teacher to prevent his pupils from working in the dark, except in so far as it is necessary to imbue them with the spirit of science. The teacher may fairly make use of his own experience or that of others, and assume results which he believes to be proveable, though he has not yet given them explicit proof. We must remember that after all we have to deal with no ideal scheme, but only with such practical methods as may best enable the student to read and think and learn for himself.

Return to the original question.

I must apologise for this rather lengthy preface, which some of my hearers may perhaps regard as consisting chiefly of truisms. They will be seen, however, I hope, to be not without a bearing on what follows.

We shall now be in a position to go on with the answer to the question propounded at the outset.

In estimating the scope to be given to the term "Exegesis" I had two considerations to bear in mind, besides the sense of the word itself. One was the practice of my predecessors in the Chair, and the other was the apportionment of the Divinity Professorships in the University.

Two considerations to be borne in mind.

It has been my privilege to be enabled to refer to the Inaugural Address of the first holder of the Chair, and in the programme which he laid down for himself I find distinctly included not only exegesis strictly so called, but also the other branches of study preliminary or subsidiary to exegesis, such as that which is now commonly denoted by the name "Introduction," and the critical study of the text. I gather, too, from one who attended and greatly valued his lectures, that in practice Dr. Hawkins also took in these subjects.

Practice of previous Professors.

If we look at the apportionment of the Divinity Chairs we shall seem to arrive at the same result. From that it would appear that the subject of the New Testament is assigned as a whole to the Chair of Exegesis, which seems to compel the inclusion of those allied subjects without which Exegesis must be incomplete. These may perhaps be enumerated thus:—(1.) The History of the Formation of the Canon ; (2.) What is commonly called "Introduction" to the New Testament as a whole, and to the particular Books ; (3.) Text, and the determination of the principles of Textual Criticism ; (4.) Exegesis proper ; (5.) Aids to Exegesis, whether preparatory or illustrative, such as philological collections, Biblical antiquities and geography, general history of the New Testament period ; (6.) What I may be perhaps allowed to call "Inferential Exegesis," meaning by that such subjects as Biblical Theology and the History of the Apostolic Age, as

Apportionment of the Divinity Professorships.

Enumeration of subjects.

dependent on Exegesis and reflecting back light upon it; (7.) The History and Methods of Exegesis.

Order in which these subjects are presented.

In presenting the subjects in this order I would refer back for a moment to what I have just been saying. The order is not in all cases exactly scientific. It is true that the history of the Canon (as such) may be isolated and fitly treated separately. In like manner also the subject of the Text is capable of isolation.

Exegesis strictly comes before Introduction.

But an Introduction, dealing with the authorship and origin of a book, strictly speaking, cannot come before its Exegesis. If there is any doubt whatever as to the authorship, or date, or the like, the whole body of internal evidence, which is often most important, can only be collected after the book has undergone a thorough examination exegetically. In this respect I most heartily endorse the principles laid down by my friend Mr. Cheyne in his recent edition of Isaiah. The New Testament, as well as the Old, has suffered from the application of a converse process. It is the crying fault of the Tübingen theories that they have been only in a remote and tertiary degree exegetical. It would not be quite fair to say that the principles of the school were obtained *à priori*, though I believe that they were dominated more than might be supposed by Hegel's philosophy. But they were at least obtained *per saltum* by a very rapid induction from a few of what were thought cardinal instances, and the remaining facts were forced into agreement with these. A close exegesis reveals at once the inadequacies and exaggerations of the theory, and the insecurity of the foundation on which it is built.

Tübingen theories not exegetical.

Scientific and didactic order.

From the scientific point of view, then, Exegesis ought to come first. It is only in the didactic order that Introduction has the precedence. But in that order it is convenient that the student should have presented to him the time and place and conditions

out of which a book arose before he begins to read its text.

For similar reasons I place last the history and definition of Exegesis, though logically it should come at the very beginning. For practical purposes we may take for granted what Exegesis is; for though very mistaken notions on the subject have been current, they are now pretty well obsolete. In the New Testament, at least, it is agreed in all quarters worthy of consideration that there is only one sound method, and with this method the student will make acquaintance best by practice. Sooner or later, no doubt, it will be well that your Professor should give a course of lectures on the subject; but it may stand over for the present.

History and definition of Exegesis.

I. We begin, then, with the history of the Canon. Here, as elsewhere, the last few years have seen a decided advance. The very careful investigations of Professor James Drummond^b and Dr. Ezra Abbot^c in reference to the Fourth Gospel, and the publication in a Latin translation of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus on Tatian's *Diatessaron*^d, have cleared up more than one disputed point, and altogether placed matters in a different light from that in which they had stood before.

The Canon. Recent investigations bearing especially on the Fourth Gospel.

If we look back some thirty years, there seemed to be some foundation for the round assertion of Baur, that there were no traces of the Fourth Gospel before the year 170 A.D. How different is the case now! In the interval two considerable discoveries have been made, and much of the evidence previously ex-

Changed position in thirty years.

^b *Theological Review*, October, 1875, April and July, 1877.

^c *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel: External Evidence.* (London and Boston, 1880.)

^d *Evangelii Concordantis Expositio*, &c., translated by Aucher and Mœsinger. (Venice, 1876.)

isting has undergone a careful examination. Strange to say, in every case the result has been to contribute some positive evidence to the genuineness of the Gospel. First came the publication by Dressel, in 1853, of the concluding portion, which had been hitherto wanting, of the *Clementine Homilies*. This was a work on which the Tübingen school had set especial store as a chief support of their theory of fundamental antagonism between St. Peter and St. Paul ; yet the missing portion was found to tell against them, in so far as it contained clear proof of the use of the Fourth Gospel. Next, after a considerable interval, came the renewed examination by the scholars I have named of the writings of Justin Martyr. This had precisely the same result, and has placed, as I cannot but think, quite beyond question Justin's acquaintance with the Gospel. Dr. Ezra Abbot went a step further, and maintained, on the strength of recent discussions, and especially of the very thorough scrutiny of the language of Hippolytus by Dr. Hort, that the Gospel was used not only by Basilidian Gnostics, but by Basilides himself, about 125 A.D.* This last is a point which, though always probable, will never, with our present data, be capable of decision with absolute certainty. Greater importance attached to the opinions of Professor Drummond and Dr. Ezra Abbot, as they presented, perhaps, a nearer approach to rigid impartiality than had yet been seen in any English work dealing with the subject. Both these writers are Unitarians—the one English and the other American—and they are besides scholars, as it seems to me, of singularly calm and balanced judgment.

American
theology.

And here I cannot refrain from pausing for a moment to point out what a future America has before it in theological science. Dr. Ezra Abbot's slender vo-

* *Authorship, &c.*, p. 87.

lume on *The External Evidence for the Authorship of the Fourth Gospel* is not by any means the only work of value that America has produced or is producing ; but I imagine that it is a rather typical example of the kind of work that we may look for from the other side of the Atlantic. It is not a systematic or exhaustive treatise, and it only professes to deal with certain points in the evidence which are treated not on a uniform scale, but with conspicuous clearness, precision, and exactitude^f. These are qualities that ^{Its qualities.} seem to be fast becoming national characteristics, as our burly English stock is toned down and refined by other climatic and social influences. The fine precision of American mechanism has long been acknowledged. I am told by those who know, that scientific transactions and observations (those in Astronomy, for instance) are published in America not only at lavish expense—that may be taken as a matter of course—but (what is of more importance) with a delicate accuracy which equals, and even surpasses, the best European workmanship. Again, in classical philology, it appears that we are going to America for our best grammars and dictionaries, the very department in which precision and exactness are most needed. And I can appeal to even a wider circle to corroborate me when I refer to the finish and delicacy of American engraving. American theology is a rising school, and it is being conducted, as I cannot but think, on lines that promise well for the future. The more reason for welcoming the co-operation which Transatlantic scholars seem ready to offer us, and

^f The same qualities are even more marked in the elaborate and exhaustive discussion of Titus ii. 13 and Rom. ix. 5, in the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, June and December, 1881 ; nor is Dr. Abbot's antagonist, Prof. T. Dwight, at all without a claim to them. The whole number of this Journal, if it is at all a fair sample of current theology in America, points to a very high standard.

in which not by any means they alone will be the gainers.

Dr. E. A. Abbott on Justin's use of the Fourth Gospel.

His main position necessarily precarious.

To return from this digression. It is true that, as regards Justin, the conclusions of the two writers I have just mentioned must be taken with such qualification as may be due from two careful and elaborate articles recently reprinted from *The Modern Review*^s by Dr. Edwin A. Abbott, of the City of London School. He adduces a number of interesting and valuable parallels to the language of Justin from Philo, which make it probable that Justin had read Philo, though they hardly diminish the further probability that he was dependent on the Fourth Gospel. It does not at all follow that because the central idea of the Incarnation of the Logos in Christ seems to us not a great or difficult step in advance of the teaching of Philo, Justin, therefore, himself must have taken that step without suggestion from without. If there could be any question as to the relative priority of Justin and St. John, the case might be different ; but assuming, as we may assume, that Justin was acquainted to a greater or less extent with the Fourth Gospel, when we find a number of coincidences in idea both with that Gospel and with Philo, it seems highly probable that the Gospel was the connecting link which first gave to these ideas their Christian application. Dr. Abbott's main position, however, is this : admitting that Justin used the Fourth Gospel, it is contended that he did so in such a way as to shew that he had doubts as to its authority. Use proves knowledge, but comparatively sparing use proves doubt and hesitation. It is evident, upon the face of it, that the inference here is most precarious. How many other causes will account for the sparing use of any particular document besides the attribution to it of defective authority? Possibly the reason may have been some

quite trivial mechanical one, such as that Justin had had only intermittent access to a MS. of the document in question; for Justin was a somewhat migratory person, and to carry about a whole Bible, Old Testament as well as New, was not such an easy matter in those days. Besides, though the Fourth Gospel is now known to have been certainly circulated in the first half of the second century, it would seem to have come into circulation somewhat slowly. To begin with, it was probably written some twenty years later than St. Matthew and St. Mark, and at least ten years after St. Luke. The Synoptic tradition thus had time to pre-occupy the public mind, while its apparent simplicity made it more readily assimilated. The relative frequency with which the Synoptic Gospels are quoted is only what we should have expected beforehand. And the disproportion between the references to St. John, as compared with St. Mark and St. Luke, is not greater, if it is so great, as that between these Gospels and St. Matthew. At almost every turn it seems to me that some other hypothesis will equally well explain the facts alleged by Dr. Abbott. But there is one simple argument which I cannot but think sufficient to invalidate his whole position. By precisely the same mode of reasoning it might be proved that Justin recognised none, or only one, of St. Paul's Epistles, at a time when his opponent, the heretic Marcion, certainly recognised ten of them. The fact is, that Dr. Abbott has tried, as so many try, to make his argument bear more than it will carry, and to attain to a definiteness of knowledge which, by the nature of the case, is unattainable. Where direct information is so slight, and even indirect so imperfect, there are a great many things that we must be content to leave in the obscurity in which we find them.

Possible reasons for sparing use of Gospel.

Analogous case of St. Paul's Epistles.

First, however, in importance of all the contributions

Partial recovery of Tatian's *Diatessaron*.

Its great importance.

Text-critical argument from relation to Cureton's Syriac.

to the history of the Canon which have been made of late, must be placed, without doubt, the publication, in an accessible form, of what is ascertained to be a commentary on parts of Tatian's *Diatessaron*. This work, hitherto lost, and with its contents only to be guessed at, has now been, partially at least, recovered. It begins, as tradition asserted that it began, with the opening of St. John's Gospel. The importance of this recovery to those who have at all followed the course of recent controversy will need no demonstration. It is not only that the space between Justin and Irenæus is now definitely filled, but further, and indeed very far-reaching, consequences will follow, if it should be proved, as it is maintained, with what I confess seems to me strong *prima facie* probability, that Tatian really made use of a Syriac version, corresponding practically to Cureton's Syriac^h. This would throw back the date of that version, at the very least, to the middle of the second century; and when we remember the state in which that text has come down to us, and the number of transcriptions which that state implies, it seems to follow that all theories which place the composition of the Fourth Gospel on this side of the year 100, are at once and for ever swept away. This result is so startling and momentous that it is quite certain to be searchingly tested; and I, for one, would welcome the application of the severest tests. But if it should hold good, the year 1876, when MM. Aucher and Mœisinger published their modest volume, will mark little less than an epoch in the history of New Testament criticism: *ὡς φρονίμοις λέγω κρίνατε ὑμεῖς ὁ φημι*.

Considerations of this kind too much neglected in Germany.

I have touched here upon a point which needs the more emphasis, because it has never had full justice done to it in Germany. Highly as I honour the very

^h See Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte d. neutest. Kanons*, (1881), I. p. 225 ff.

name of German work, it seems to me that in recent years a great deal of it has pursued a not very profitable path. The Tübingen speculations are still in the air, and they are still being prosecuted with endless fertility of hypothesis, but somewhat to the neglect of the close study of texts, which is really, I am convinced, much more likely to lead to sound results. Here is a case in point. If clear proof can be given of the use of a certain document by a certain writer, some five or ten years at most are thought to be enough to allow for the interval in which that document was written and put into circulation. And enough such an interval might be, if the document at the time when we find it in use were in the same state as that in which it left its author's hand. But this is seldom the case. To take Tatian as an example. He is writing in the decade 160—170, or, possibly, 170—180 A.D. He is using (I assume the fact for a moment) a version made well into the middle of the century. If that version were made direct from St. John's autograph, there would be little more to be said; but we have indisputable proof that it was neither made directly from the autograph, nor from a first copy of the autograph, nor from a copy of that again, nor from any small number of copies, but from one that stands at the head of a long series,—in fact, from a copy that is already very corrupt, a copy, perhaps, further removed (if every aberration is taken into account) from the original text than the text which was committed to print in the sixteenth century. This is a fact of the very highest significance, and it is one that the negative critics in Germany have, to the best of my belief, entirely overlooked. I would not press its importance beyond what it deserves, but I would invite for it a full and candid consideration. Those who are acquainted with the Curetonian text will know that I am not exaggerating its condition. It is a fa-

Application to evidence of Tatian.

State of Curetonian text.

Suggested
explanation.
tion.

familiar fact to textual critics that a text may be very valuable in its readings which are sound, and yet disfigured by glaring corruption. The truth is, as Dr. Scrivener long ago pointed out, that the worst corruptions made their way into the text during the second centuryⁱ; and I would suggest as a possible reason for this, that in the early days of Christianity, when so many of the converts belonged to the lower classes, and these obliged to use every effort to conceal their faith, the sacred books were not copied by professional copyists, but by private and often illiterate persons, who greatly prized Christian truth, but had no very strict idea, not even the current professional standard—itself not a high one—of diplomatic accuracy.

The Mura-
torian
Fragment.
Its date.

Enough will have been said to shew that the group of questions which centre round Tatian is one that will demand the close attention of your Professor. Another special centre of interest will be the Muratorian Fragment, which I now see that Dr. Salmon, in the new volume of *The Dictionary of Biography*^k, is inclined to place some thirty or forty years later than the ordinary date, in the pontificate of Zephyrinus (198—217 A.D.). The points that he urges certainly deserve consideration, but one thing hangs together with another too

Recent dis-
cussions.

much to make it possible to pronounce upon them hastily. If the later date is right, then the theory of Dr. Harnack, that the Fragment represents a stage in the formation of the Canon earlier than Irenæus, at once falls to the ground. The questions raised by him^l, and discussed also by Dr. Overbeck, are, however, important, and will repay such examination as can be given to them. It is one thing to trace the growth of the Canon, and the steps by which the dif-

ⁱ *Introduction*, &c., p. 452.

^k Vol. iii. p. 1002 b.

^l *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, III. 358 ff. I take the reference from Overbeck, *Zur Geschichte des Kanons*, 1880, p. 72.

ferent books gradually came to be included in it, and another thing to get at the principles that were at work in the process.

Principles
at work in
formation
of Canon.

What was the ruling principle which determined the admission of books to the Canon? Was it their Apostolic origin alone? or did any other criterion, such as the nature of their contents, also come in? And if so, what characteristics made a book canonical? When and by what degrees did the New Testament writings come to be regarded as inspired? I quite admit that the answer to these questions is not self-evident, and I doubt if it has as yet been ascertained in a definitive shape. Nor when once we recede from the comparatively clear daylight of Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, at the end of the century, does there seem to be any document so likely to throw light upon the problem as the Muratorian Fragment, if only it belongs to the earlier period, as it is generally considered to do.

Possible
bearing of
Murato-
rian Frag-
ment on
these.

Another detail, minor in itself, and yet not without wider bearings, on which I hope to be able to satisfy myself more than I have been in a position to do hitherto, is the date of Justin's two Apologies and Martyrdom. I have long had in view a reference to a paper by Dr. Hort on the subject, to which I have not had access, but now hope to obtain it. This date is, perhaps, second only to that of Polycarp's Martyrdom, as one of the pivot-points in the chronology of the second century.

Date of
Justin's
Apologies
and death.

I have not by any means exhausted the subjects of interest which the history of the Canon in the second century affords; but I must hasten to pass from the Canon as a subject of scientific inquiry to the Canon as a matter for teaching. Here I think we must congratulate ourselves upon the results of the stir caused by *Supernatural Religion*. It has led to the abandonment of

The Canon
as a sub-
ject for
teaching.

Recent
publica-
tions.

A shorter
work de-
sirable.

untenable positions, and in still larger degree to the consolidation and definition of those which have stood the trial. The advantage of this is seen in the latest edition of Dr. Westcott's well-known work on the Canon. A valuable contribution has also been recently made from across the border in the volume entitled *Canon-icity*^m, by Professor Charteris, of Edinburgh. This is practically a revised and enlarged edition of that most useful book, Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung*. It is carried out with much fulness, clearness, and sobriety of judgment. I am not, however, sure that there is not still room for a volume considerably reduced in size, and more within the grasp of the average student, in which the passages given should be confined to those that are quite clear and indisputable. Such a volume, arranged perhaps in the order of the authors, with short head- and foot-notes, and a marginal analysis, would, I think, be a real boon. For the rest I would venture to express the very high value which I attach to the plan of printing annotated selections from original documents, such as is seen in Kirchhofer, and such as is admirably applied in Dr. Schürer's *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*. I suspect that this plan might be with advantage rather largely extended, especially in the domain of Church History, Dogmatics, and History of Dogma.

Besides the works above mentioned, there is a small volumeⁿ by Dr. S. Davidson, reprinted in a fuller form from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. In lecturing on the subject, no doubt note would be taken of this. But the most useful text-book, failing such an abridgment as I have suggested, would probably be Dr. Char-

^m Edinburgh and London, 1880. See also *The Croall Lectures* for 1882, by the same author.

ⁿ *The Canon of the Bible*, London, 1877.

teris' *Canonicity*, read along with Westcott *On the Canon*.

II. Passing to the subject of Introduction, we find ourselves at once in the midst of disputed questions. These relate not only to the order in which it should be taken in connexion with the allied subjects, but they affect the whole conception and treatment of the subject itself. Some would substitute for the term Introduction a different name and different thing, History of the New Testament Literature. For my own part I cannot help thinking that it is better to keep the two things distinct. I can see no reason why we should not have Introductions and Histories of the New Testament Literature side by side; the one, more critical and analytic, and drawn up in a form suited to the student; the other, more constructive and descriptive, and cast in a literary mould suited to the general reader. Yet a third distinct type would be that recently adopted by Canon Farrar of Westminster, in which general history and literary history are interwoven together. It seems to me that any one of these forms, if well executed, carries its own justification. One writer will naturally and appropriately choose one, another another, according to the bent of his own genius. I certainly think that the author of the popular series just mentioned has been well advised in the choice of a mode of treatment which gave scope at once for his remarkable powers of word-painting and for trained and scholarly analysis. I would not, of course, deny the defects which have been so often pointed out, and which a fastidious taste will be apt to receive with especial impatience; but I think that there is a danger that less than justice should be done to the merits of a work which, when every deduction has been made, is yet the work, not only of a scholar, but of a man of great width of

Questions relating to Introduction.

Three distinct types possible.

Canon Farrar's series.

reading, active intelligence, and by no means extravagant judgment. It was a misfortune that the first volumes should begin with a subject the simple profundity of which was least adapted to the author's style ; but the succeeding volumes, I cannot but think, have gone on increasing in value. Probably no one work will have done so much to spread the results of critical inquiry, in its more moderate shape, among the English-speaking peoples ; and none will have done more to bring home to the general apprehension at least the outer characteristics of the Apostolic age.

A practical Introduction for teaching purposes.

I would deprecate a pedantic rigidity of judgment in dealing with the question generally. Some would limit the scope of an Introduction to an inquiry into the origin of the books of the New Testament. This is perhaps the most scientific form for it to take ; and if any one is disposed to write a book on these narrower lines, by all means let him do so. But there is also a distinct utility in that somewhat miscellaneous *congeries* of matter, which commonly goes by the name of Introduction. If we begin by defining Introduction as that which treats of the origin of the New Testament Literature, it is certainly true that much of this miscellaneous matter is out of place. There is no reason, for instance, why anything should be said about text, or versions, or the like. But if we look at it from another and more practical point of view ; if we think of an Introduction as designed to prepare the learner for the study of the particular books, then topics of this kind become no longer irrelevant. A short section, for instance, on the authorities available for the text of each book, on the characteristics of that text, and possibly on some of the more salient difficulties, would confer real assistance.

If I should ever be able to attempt myself to put together an Introduction to the Study of the New

Testament Scriptures, I should certainly do so from this didactic and practical point of view. I should consider first and foremost the undergraduates who attended my own lectures, and those of the other Divinity teachers in the University.

It seems to me that a work of this kind is needed. Such a work needed. Horne's *Introduction* contained much that was of merit in its own day, but is now out of date. Dr. Davidson's ° is, I believe, the only Introduction on an adequate scale available; and that, though quite honestly meant, is too one-sided. It is true that *The Speaker's Commentary* has supplied excellent introductions to a few of the books, and good introductions to more; but the treatment of others is unsatisfactory, and there is no compact volume treating of all on the same scale and by the same hand.

Even in Germany a perfectly satisfactory Introduction does not exist. The latest, Dr. Hilgenfeld's, published in 1875, is not only cumbrous in form, but is largely taken up with Tübingen theories, which are not likely to possess more than an ephemeral value. Unjust as it would be to deny the elements of truth which those theories contain, and which Dr. Hilgenfeld presents in their most reasonable form, that part of them which is enduring has by this time been sufficiently assimilated: while in the remainder of the Tübingen specialities, as I have already hinted, theory runs considerably ahead of fact, and the time of the student would be too much taken up with the process of criticism and rejection. In the present transition state of knowledge it is probable that no Introduction would maintain its ground for more than a limited number of years; but even this relative degree of permanence belongs to none of the books now current.

° *An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, Second Edition, 1882.

Salient
points at
the present
time.

If it may be granted, then, that a new Introduction is a *desideratum*, what, it may be asked, would such a work contain? What would be the chief points that would demand discussion? What are the points to which a Professor of Exegesis should give the closest attention at the present time? A brief review of the salient features may perhaps not be out of place.

Problem
presented
by the Syn-
optic
Gospels.

We are confronted at the outset by one of the most difficult problems of New Testament criticism—that which is concerned with the origin and composition of the Synoptic Gospels. How do they come to present such a remarkable relation at once of resemblance and of difference? To account for one set of phenomena alone might seem easy; to account for both, and for the peculiar and complicated combination of both, is exceedingly hard. The problem can scarcely as yet be regarded as solved, though the labour which has

Untenable
views dis-
carded.

been expended upon it has not been in vain. The view which represents the first three Gospels as so many distinct and independent narratives may be said to have been given up. The other view, which prevailed in patristic times, that the work of one Evangelist lay before the next, and was abridged or expanded by him, is also now practically abandoned. There is at the present time a general consent that the resemblances in the Gospels are not due to direct copying or adaptation of each other, but to the employment in all of some common source or sources. It is as to the nature of those sources and their limits that diver-

Two main
theories.

sity of opinion reigns. The main theories are two: first, what may be called Gieseler's hypothesis, inasmuch as it was suggested by that eminent historian, in a work published early in the century, that all three Gospels are based alike on the body of oral tradition, which proceeded direct from the Apostles, and circulated, under their eye, in the Church at Jeru-

saalem. And the second theory, which has taken a number of different shapes; that the common element in the Gospels is derived, not from oral tradition, but from certain written documents—the two main documents being those mentioned by the sub-apostolic writer Papias, a collection of the *λόγια* of our Lord compiled by St. Matthew, and a series of notes from the preaching of St. Peter put together by St. Mark. These two main theories may be said to have, roughly speaking, a geographical distribution. The first is still, through the influence of the Cambridge school, largely prevalent in England. The second is maintained almost exclusively in Germany. In France opinions are divided, Godet taking one side, Renan and Réville the other. While I am disposed, as far as I can see at present, to accept the German theory in the main, I doubt whether German critics have of late quite done justice to its opposite. One thing, at least, has been definitely proved by Dr. Lightfoot, in one of his articles in reply to *Supernatural Religion*, that so far as the use of the word *λόγια* goes it might be applied to a Gospel like our present St. Matthew, and that it does not at once follow from the words of Papias that what he is describing is not our present Gospels in the form in which we have them, but certain original documents which have been worked up in those Gospels. The language of Papias would admit of either construction, though I confess that on the whole it seems to me to favour the latter. We may also doubt whether sufficient weight has been given—some weight could not but be given—to the difference of conditions between the Apostolic age and our own, as well as between a Jewish and a Greek or Latin community. Tradition is the form naturally taken among the Jews by that which in another people—especially among Aryan peoples—would be literature. What we now have as

Oral tradition theory.

Talmud and Targum circulated for generations, and even for centuries, as an oral tradition, before ever it was committed to writing. And it not only circulated as a tradition, but as a *fixed* tradition, undergoing comparatively little change in the process of transmission. When we think of this, and when we remember that the oral period of the Christian tradition probably did not exceed (dating from the composition of the first written Gospel) some 35—38 years, that it was concentrated in a definite place, and that the authors of it remained for the greater part, if not the whole, of that time together in that place so as to have the tradition constantly under their own direct supervision—when we remember these facts, it will be easier to understand how the tradition could have reached such a compact and stereotyped form as that presented to us in the Synoptic Gospels. Well known as all this is, I doubt if some German writers have allowed quite enough for it. Nor, when we consider the forms which the competing theory has taken, does it seem possible to accept any of them precisely as it stands. Here, too, real progress has been made, and untenable positions gradually evacuated. Assuming that the three Synoptics, as we have them, are based on documents older than themselves, and assuming that these documents are those attributed by Papias to St. Matthew and St. Mark, the question arises, which of our present Gospels has reproduced them most nearly, and what portions of the narrative are to be assigned to each ?

Docu-
mentary
theory.

Tübingen
criticism.

The Tübingen school, starting most frequently from an original Gospel of St. Matthew (as in the case of Baur, Hilgenfeld, and Keim), but sometimes also from an original Gospel of St. Mark (as in the case of Volkmar and Scholten), and supposing in each case that this literary nucleus was composed before the destruc-

tion of Jerusalem, explained the accretions and alterations by means of which were constructed our present Gospels, as, for the most part, determined by party tendencies on the one side or on the other, the object of which was either to exalt or to disparage the Pauline or Judaizing Gospel. It is now, I think, generally agreed that this so-called "Tendenz-kritik" has been carried to a great excess, and that the real element of truth in it must be reduced to quite modest dimensions. True it is—and the truth is a valuable one, which has now for some time been appropriated by all schools and opinions, as well in England as on the Continent—that in the selection and colouring of his narrative St. Matthew leans to the Jewish Christian, and St. Luke to the Gentile or Pauline side, while St. Mark, to a certain extent, holds the scales between them. But that the history has been *invented* on these lines, or materially distorted in accordance with them, is a conclusion which sober critics have generally rejected. The Tübingen criticism of the Gospels was, indeed, an instance of the inherent defects of the school; its hasty generalisation from insufficient and loosely-studied data, and its premature imposition of the results thus arrived at on all the facts, whether they fitted them or not. The consequence has been that an altogether disproportionate weight has been attached to subordinate phenomena, and that causes which were true causes indeed, or causes really operating within narrow limits, have been allowed to dominate the whole conception. The latest representatives of the Tübingen school (more especially Hilgenfeld and Keim) have, to a certain extent, seen the error of their predecessors, and tried to modify their method by combining literary analysis with the criticism of "tendency." But they have not been able to do this sufficiently to make their position really

a sound one. From a defective principle defective results only can be obtained, though the defects may be made less glaring by admixture with other methods.

The
Marcus-
hypotheses.

A more hopeful prospect would seem to be before those who have taken their start, as the facts demand, from a close literary analysis. This has been done especially by Dr. H. J. Holtzmann, formerly of Heidelberg, and now of Strassburg^p, and Dr. Bernhard Weiss, formerly of Kiel, now of Berlin^q. Both represent what is called the *Marcus-hypotheses*, and both base their views upon the statements of Papias. In each of these respects I venture to think that they are right, and that a sound criticism must follow in their track.

Evidence
of Papias.

The disparaging expression which Eusebius uses about Papias, as a person of no great intellect, does not invalidate his testimony to plain matter of fact. And when we consider his early date—he would be in the prime of life at the very beginning of the second century—and the peculiar advantages which he enjoyed as one who took every opportunity of collecting traditions from those who had themselves actually conversed with Apostles—when we consider this, I think that stronger reasons than any that have been yet given would have to be adduced before his testimony could be legitimately neglected.

Priority of
St. Mark.

The further point, that our present St. Mark most nearly represents the original Synoptic tradition, seems to me to be also capable of positive demonstration. When the three narratives are placed side by side, it can, I think, as well be shewn that the other two can be explained on the assumption of St. Mark's, as that the remaining pair cannot be explained on the assumption of either St. Matthew's or St. Luke's. In

^p *Die Synoptischen Evangelien* (Leipzig, 1863).

^q *Das Marcusevangelium* (Berlin, 1872); *Das Matthäusevangelium* (Halle, 1876); *Das Leben Jesu* (Berlin, 1882).

other words, St. Mark supplies the foundation of the Synoptic literature.

These two leading principles Holtzmann and Weiss have both thoroughly grasped, and the argumentation which they have built upon them seems to be also, in its method at least, right. And yet difficulties remain; and difficulties so serious that the conclusions

Difficulties.

drawn from the premises in question would seem to be probably erroneous. These difficulties arise mainly from the fact that the greater originality of St. Mark, though largely predominant, is yet not without exception. Long sections of narrative will occur, in which the texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke may be explained out of St. Mark, and where all that they have in common as against St. Mark is some three or four often quite trivial words. And yet there *are* these three or four words, and every now and then there will be one which is not trivial. Again, there will be sections in which for eight or ten consecutive verses the same relation will hold good, and then suddenly there will come in, as a kind of appendix at the end, a single verse or short paragraph, apparently an integral part of the rest, in which the relation is inverted.

Here is the knotty part of the problem; and it is in seeking to solve this that critics have failed. Holtzmann's way out of it is by supposing that our present St. Mark differs somewhat, though not largely, from an original St. Mark (Ur-Marcus).

Dr. Holtzmann's views.

Weiss regards our present St. Mark as a mixed composition, in which not only the original St. Mark, but also an original St. Matthew has been worked up. Set out in full his theory is this: first, there exist side by side an original St. Mark, in the shape of notes from the preaching of St. Peter, and an original St. Matthew, in the shape of a collection chiefly, but not entirely, of discourses. Then out of these is formed our present

Dr. Weiss' view.

St. Mark. From our present St. Mark, the original St. Matthew (again brought into use, at first hand), and some additional matter, was then put together our present St. Matthew: and from our present St. Mark, the original St. Matthew, and a different selection of additional matter, our present St. Luke. It will be seen that this theory involves the double use of the same document (the *Ur-Matthäus*) which is supposed to be worked up twice over, at first hand and at second hand, in two distinct books (our St. Matthew and St. Luke); which must be set down as improbable in itself, though it accounts for one set of phenomena, the occurrence of duplicate passages, or apparent repetitions of the same event or same saying.

Its recent
modifica-
tion.

Dr. Weiss^r has, however, if I mistake not, in his latest work, given to his hypothesis an important modification which brings it a decided step nearer within the range of probability. Instead of maintaining that our present St. Mark is compounded from two distinct written documents, the notes of St. Peter's preaching, and an original Matthew, he would see in it the actual work of John Mark the Evangelist, based mainly upon the preaching of St. Peter, but affected also, not by the written St. Matthew, but by the Evangelist's own recollection of the oral tradition current in the circle of the Apostles at Jerusalem, which St. Matthew was almost at the same time independently committing to writing. St. Mark, whose mother's house seems to have been a principal rendezvous of the Church at Jerusalem, would naturally be acquainted with this tradition; and the loose notes of the preaching of St. Peter would need some kind of cement to bind them together, which his own recollection of the common oral tradition might well supply. Or, even without having recourse to this supposition, probable

^r *Das Leben Jesu* (1882), I, p. 45.

as it is, it does not follow that because St. Peter was an Apostle, and a chief actor in the scenes recorded, his account of them would be always fuller and more complete than that of another Apostle, St. Matthew. Thus in any case it would seem as if the secondary features in St. Mark's Gospel, hitherto one of the most perplexing elements in the problem, might be satisfactorily explained.

But any one who has worked at all at this subject will know how treacherous general statements of any kind in respect to it are apt to be; and I should hesitate to pronounce a definite opinion until it can be tested in close detail. I had myself given some study to this subject a few years back, in the course of which I had prepared for my own use a copy of Tischendorf's *Synopsis* very much in the manner since so elaborately carried out in Mr. Rushbrooke's *Synopticon*^s. When I was drawn away by other occupations I laid aside my task with a strong sense of its difficulty, and no great hope of finding an immediate solution. But in the interval there has been a distinct advance; both in Germany and in England solid work has been done. In Germany there is the appearance of the two later works of Dr. Weiss, the *Matthäusevangelium* (1876), and the *Leben Jesu* (1882). In England, besides the *Synopticon*, there is the very able and suggestive article on the "Gospels" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* by Dr. Edwin A. Abbott, quite the best concise treatment of the subject (so far as the Synoptic Gospels are concerned) with which I am acquainted. In any further enquiry it seems to me that the most hopeful method would be this: to go through the *Synopticon* section by section, setting down, without any pre-conceived opinions, the results which seem to be suggested at the end of each, and while not neglecting current

Intricacy
of the
problem.

Progress
in recent
years.

^s London, 1880.

theories, using them freely as working hypotheses, without committing oneself prematurely to any one in particular. In this way I am sanguine to think that, after so many years of labour, some definite conclusion may at last be arrived at.

The last a
neutral
question.

Happily, it may be said that this question of the composition of the Synoptic Gospels is practically neutral ground. The work is one in which all parties may join; and only those whose interest lies in confusing all the foundations of Christianity will put the problem aside as insoluble. It is much too early to use any such word. Differences of opinion may indeed mark the difficulty of the subject, but those differences are one by one being removed, and if the process is slow, it is therefore perhaps only the more sure. To accept premature solutions is one thing; to shut one's eyes to all solutions is another. Let us be content to work and wait, and the truth will dawn upon us as soon as He, who is the Author of all light and of all truth, wills.

Not so
that which
relates to
the Fourth
Gospel.

It is otherwise, I fear, with the questions which beset the Fourth Gospel. Here the question of origin is a vital question; not vital, perhaps, in the sense that Christianity itself stands or falls with it, but vital in the sense that whether the Fourth Gospel is or is not the work of an Apostle makes a profound difference in its character, and marks a turning-point in our conception of many other things besides. It is now some ten years since I published a book^t on the subject, and in the meantime this question, too, has not stood still. I have already alluded to the remarkable change in the aspect of the external evidence. When I wrote I excused myself from dealing with this on the ground that its results were inconclusive. This could not be said

Changed
position of
the external
evidence.

^t *The Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel.* (London, 1882.)

now. Justin, Tatian, the Clementine Homilies, no longer give an uncertain sound. If only the textual argument of which I have spoken holds good—and I have great confidence that it will be found to hold good—then it seems to me that the date of the Gospel is all but demonstrated. As it is, the date assigned to it by some eminent critics has become little less than ludicrous in the light of our fuller knowledge. Baur's 160—170, Volkmar's 155, Scholten's 140, are all dates at which not only is it certain that the Gospel existed, but highly probable that it was already translated, or at least being translated, and that with a text some way advanced on the road of corruption. I am running a little ahead of the proof in asserting this, but not, I suspect, very far. *Dies docebit.* But if the case is made out in all its strength, *a priori* considerations must yield, and the Gospel must take rank as the work of a contemporary, as it professes to be.

But, independently of the external evidence, the internal indications of authorship have been re-stated with great force and completeness by my Durham colleagues, Archdeacon Watkins^u and Dr. Plummer^x, and pre-eminently by Dr. Westcott^y. Dr. E. A. Abbott is at least a partial dissentient. In Germany the question seems stationary; for as a set-off against the arguments of Dr. Weiss must be ranged the defection of Dr. Weizsäcker^z.

Looking back over my own work, the first with which I ventured to come before the public, I find myself holding substantially the same view, but with some modification in detail. I certainly laid too much stress upon the occurrence of names and graphic particulars.

^u In Bishop Ellicott's *Commentary for English Readers*. (London, not dated.)

^x In *The Cambridge Bible for Schools*. (Cambridge, 1880 and 1882.)

^y In *The Speaker's Commentary*, vol. ii. (London, 1880, also published separately.) The Commentary on St. John, by Drs. Moulton and Milligan, I have not yet seen.

^z *Theologische Literaturzeitung*. (1882, No. 23.)

Probative
force of
different
kinds of
particu-
lars.

The former, I willingly admit, prove nothing; the latter prove just thus much,—they prove that the writer has a vivid realisation of what he relates. This may arise from the clear recollections of an eye-witness, or it may result from the workings of an active and powerful imagination. The fact that there is a lack of such strong individualities in the early part of the second century does not make it impossible that one such writer should have existed; and the further fact that if he existed he is otherwise unknown, though a difficulty in the way of the negative hypothesis, is not quite an insuperable one. We may grant, then, that the picturesque details in the Fourth Gospel, and the unity of character running through it all, may be the creation of some highly imaginative mind. But there are other features in it which no imagination (at that date) could supply. I cannot surrender the argument drawn from the accurate knowledge which the Gospel shews of the geography of Palestine, in deference to the criticism that “many of [the expressions used] would appear natural for an Alexandrian Jew who had spent two or three Passovers at Jerusalem, and had travelled through the country^a.” What a Christian should be doing with “Passovers” after A.D. 70 I do not know. But apart from this, there were no Ordnance maps or handbooks to Palestine in those days; and it would have been quite impossible for the author to get up the knowledge which he displays in the manner described.

Local and
contempo-
rary co-
louring.

This is not the time or place to produce once more the overwhelming body of evidence which demonstrates the familiar acquaintance of the author, not only with Palestinian topography, but with Jewish manners and customs, with the relation of Jewish and Roman courts, with the Hebrew Bible, with popular ideas current at the time, with those of the ruling and learned classes,

^a *Encycl. Brit.*, Art. “Gospels,” p. 843.

with recondite phases of the Messianic expectation. If I laid too much stress on particularities which do not bear any special stamp of time and place, I did not lay enough—it is impossible to lay too much—on those which bear this stamp so indelibly as it is borne in a multitude of instances in the Fourth Gospel. These are what seem to me to hold the mind as in a vice, and compel it—whether it will or no—to accept the Apostolic authorship of the Gospel. I do not deny that there is a case on the other side, with which it is not my purpose to deal at present. But I maintain that, even if that case were stronger than it is, it would be overborne again and again by the weight of the affirmative evidence. It is alleged against me “that I have not made any attempt to illustrate the Fourth Gospel (except in respect of the Logos doctrine) by the teaching of Philo^b.” I fully admit the influence of such ideas as might be drawn from the atmosphere of a city like Ephesus, closely connected intellectually with Alexandria. But apart from this admission, which does not affect the main question, a much more serious charge may be brought against the critics of the Gospel. In seeking for subtle Philonian allusions they have neglected facts which lay directly under their eyes. Far more clear, definite, and tangible than any traces of Philonian teaching (in all parts of the Gospel but the Prologue) are the references to usages and ideas that are strictly and exclusively Jewish; and not only so, but belonging to one epoch, and to only one, in the history of the relations of Judaism to Christianity. The destruction of Jerusalem by Titus cleaves, like some great convulsion of nature, through the innermost substance of these relations. Between the generations before that event and the generations after it a great gulf is fixed; and the criteria which determine

^b *Encycl. Brit.*, Art. “Gospels,” p. 843.

to which of these generations the products of Christian literature belong seem to me, where they are available, among the most infallible with which criticism has to deal. The Gospel of St. John presents an unique phenomenon. It contains two distinct strata of thought, both quite unmistakeable to the critical eye; and in each of these strata, again, there are local peculiarities which complicate the problem. When it comes to be closely investigated, the complexities of the problem are such that the whole of literature probably does not furnish a parallel. The hypothesis of authorship that shall satisfy them thus becomes in its turn equally complicated. It is necessary to find one who shall be at once Jew and Christian, intensely Jewish, and yet comprehensively Christian; brought up on the Old Testament, and yet with a strong tincture of Alexandrian philosophy; using a language in which the Hebrew structure and the Greek superstructure are equally conspicuous; one who had mixed personally in the events, and yet at the time of writing stood at a distance from them; an immediate disciple of Jesus, and yet possessed of so powerful an individuality as to impress the mark of himself upon his recollections; a nature capable of the most ardent and clinging affection, and yet an unsparing denouncer of hostile agencies of any kind which lay outside his own charmed circle. There is one historical figure which seems to fit like a key into all these intricate wards,—the figure of St. John, as it has been handed down to us by a well-authenticated tradition. I can conceive no second. If the St. John of history did not exist, he would have to be invented to account for his Gospel^c.

^c I do not here discuss the hypothesis that an authentic Johannean tradition is mixed up with what is otherwise a purely ideal composition; but I believe it to be quite untenable, partly because the details that bear the clearest stamp of authenticity are just those which tradition would have dropped, partly because they are so inwoven with the very warp and woof

Experience deepens my hold on one principle. Before we sit down to judge the literary products of an age we must first learn to understand—and that in no perfunctory fashion—the character of the age to which they are assigned. It will be said that there is danger here of arguing in a circle, of assuming that the documents belong to the age in forming that conception of it by which the documents themselves are to be judged. Certainly there is the danger: but it can be guarded against. If any one of a critical turn desires to estimate the character of the history contained in the Gospels, I would not advise him to begin with the Gospels themselves. Their origin, though I believe that we are in a way to ascertain it, is not as yet definitely ascertained; and it is difficult to approach the question without some kind of prepossession. Much of the rest of the New Testament is, from this severely critical point of view, also upon its trial. But there is one group of writings about which there is, and can be, no doubt whatever. The four great Epistles of St. Paul were certainly written by him, and written with great probability at a definite date, the years 57-58 A.D. In any inquiry as to the character of the Apostolic age and that which preceded it, they should be taken as the starting-point. There is one of these writings which I would venture to recommend for especial study—the First Epistle to the Corinthians. If in the Epistle to the Romans we have a masterly exposition of a large section of Christian doctrine, in 1 Corinthians we have a marvellously vivid presentation of the inner life of the primitive Church. It seems to me that this is fraught with meaning, not

Necessity of grasping the character of an age.

Best starting-point for New Testament criticism supplied by St. Paul's great Epistles.

of the Gospel that no analysis could separate them; and partly because of the express affirmation in chap. xxi. 24: "This is the disciple which beareth witness of these things, and *wrote these things*." (See Weiss, *L. 7.*, p. 89.)

only as to what follows, but as to what has gone before. And it will be one of my duties as Professor of Exegesis to attempt to draw out this meaning, and otherwise to collect and focus together in logical and critical order all that may throw a light on that most profound of all subjects, the *Origines* of Christianity.

The Acts.

In any investigation of this kind the Book of the Acts will of course bear a prominent part. Here, too, the same scientific principle should be applied—that of arguing from such data as are comparatively clear to those that are more obscure. The key to the Book of the Acts is, I venture to think, to be found in the so-called “We-passages,” which form its latter portion. In these again we have a remarkable literary problem, about which very various views have been held; and it will be the duty of your Professor, as well as he can, to test and verify these. From the “We-passages” he will be able to work his way backwards, trying to discriminate between the different parts of the narrative, and using with reference to each the criteria appropriate to it. It is in the Book of the Acts, perhaps, more than elsewhere that we still feel the effects of the theory of Inspiration, current chiefly in the seventeenth century—the scholastic period of Protestantism—though not without its analogies in older writers. Where the idea of human agency has been well-nigh lost, and each minute detail has been ascribed to direct Divine dictation, the reaction is apt to be great, when it is found that this view is untenable. The old standard still remains; and if the writer does not come up to it he is condemned almost without a hearing. So in regard to the author of the Acts: if it is shewn, I do not say that he makes positive mistakes, but that his account is in some particulars exaggerated, partial, imperfect or incomplete, the numerous instances in which his accuracy is confirmed count for but very

little, indeed are practically ignored. It will be the duty of your Professor to try to redress the balance, and to set forth the history of the book in accordance with a critical estimate of its sources—extenuating nothing, but still less setting down aught in malice, or pressing unfair and captious objections, as some recent critics have done.

With the historical books the most difficult and burning questions will be past, but there will be more than one deeply interesting problem remaining. Over most of the Pauline Epistles the ground is comparatively clear. With the Epistle to the Romans I shall Romans. be called upon to deal almost immediately, as I propose to take this Epistle as the subject for my first course of lectures. Three questions only in regard to it are matters for much controversy, so far at least as the Introduction to the Epistle is concerned: (1.) The object of the Epistle; how far it is polemical, and how far it is simply expository; how far its character is determined by the circumstances of the Church of Rome, and how far by the circumstances and state of mind of St. Paul himself in writing it. (2.) What were the proportions of the constituent elements of the Roman Church, and more especially, what were the relations of the Christian Church in Rome to the Jewish community there. (3.) The question as to the genuineness and relation to the rest of the Epistle of the last two chapters. The materials on all of these points are abundant, and the Professor will have little to do but to form and state his judgment upon them. In regard to the Epistles to the Corinthians, the room 1 and 2
Corinthi-
ans. for difference of opinion is smaller still. About the parties, probably all has been said that can be said; and the only disputable point seems to be whether St. Paul wrote two Epistles to the Church at Corinth, which are now lost, or whether he only wrote one

lost Epistle, in addition to the two which survive.

Galatians,
Ephesians,
Philip-
pians,
Colossians,
Philemon.

We now come to a group of Epistles where your Professor will have the great advantage that the Bishop of Durham has gone before him. Eminent as are the merits of that distinguished scholar, they are probably seen in nothing so much as in his Introductions and Essays. His wide erudition, his lucidity of statement, and his breadth and sobriety of judgment, here have the fullest play. It is much to be hoped that he may find time to complete his long-looked-for commentary on Ephesians, for which the series on the Apostolic Fathers is after all insufficient compensation. On this Epistle and on Colossians it will be necessary for your Professor to examine, to the best of his ability, the view recently propounded by Professor Holtzmann^d, though he must confess that he will approach it with no very sanguine expectations.

The Pastoral Epistles.

Greater difficulties attend the Pastoral Epistles, the Introduction to which has of late received a more adequate treatment from English hands than had been previously accorded to it^e. But it will probably be some time before the last word is really said. My own plan here again would be to establish such points as seem clear, and to take these as so many *points*

Hebrews.

d'appui for the investigation of the remainder. So far as Introduction is concerned, there are two Epistles that stand out above the rest in interest—the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse. In each case there is very early but perplexed attestation; and in each case there are remarkable phenomena to which that attestation lends a special importance. The Epistle to the Hebrews, while it is a problem in itself, also seems to me, in some respects, to supply the key to other problems. It helps, among other

^d *Kritik d. Epheser u. Kolosserbriefe*, 1872.

^e By Dr. Wace, in *The Speaker's Commentary*.

things, to throw light upon one group of phenomena which is very striking in the Catholic Epistles: I mean the extent to which the New Testament writings, almost immediately after their promulgation, became at once a sort of common property, from which it was natural for any succeeding writer to help himself as he pleased. At first sight this circumstance will seem suspicious; and it will be not an unnatural conclusion to assume, as some have done, that the writings are spurious imitations. But then the remarkably early and satisfactory attestation of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the early and wide-spread evidence for the First Epistle of St. Peter, come in to prevent this, and compel us to account for the fact in some other way. The subject is one on which there is much to be said, and it will be better to leave it until it can be dealt with more adequately. The principle to be applied seems to me to be once more to obtain certain fixed points, and argue from them to that which is more problematical. A book like the Second Epistle of St. Peter never can possess the authority of other parts of the Canon. And yet the absence of positive evidence for a book, and the presence of difficulties in the way of accepting it, do not necessarily amount to repudiation. "Not proven" is a convenient verdict, upon which it will sometimes be well to fall back. There is, however, one factor which I believe has never quite received the consideration which it deserves. Jerome suggests that the difference between 1 and 2 St. Peter is due to the fact that the Apostle "used different interpreters^f." The part which these "interpreters" played in the composition of more than one

The Catholic Epistles.

^f "Denique et duæ Epistolæ quæ feruntur Petri, stylo inter se et charactere discrepant, structuraque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus, pro necessitate rerum, diversis eum usum interpretibus."—*Epist. cxx. ad Hedibiam.*

Revela-
tion.

of the New Testament writings, I suspect, will bear more examination than it has had. On the other hand, account will have to be taken of the arguments of Dr. E. A. Abbott[§], which tend to shew that the writer of 2 St. Peter was acquainted not only with Philo, but also with Josephus. A case of considerable strength seems to be made out, though I am not sure that the facts will not bear another explanation. Finally, in regard to the Apocalypse, the inherent difficulties of the book are further complicated by an apparent conflict between the internal and the external evidence as to its date. Seldom do we find a case in which one set of data seems to tell so distinctly one way, and another set of data another. The point is one of much interest, and important in its bearing upon the relation of internal and external evidence in general.

Textual
criticism :
its interest-
ing posi-
tion.

III. Next in order to Introduction comes the subject of Textual Criticism. My audience will not need to be reminded of the peculiarly interesting position in which this question now stands. The fifty years which elapsed between the year 1831, in which Lachmann published his first small edition of "The New Testament in Greek," and 1881, had witnessed a steady progress in one direction. Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort—indeed all those whose names are identified with critical editions of the New Testament—had worked upon the same lines. There had been a continuous advance in the development of critical principles, which culminated in the edition of Drs. Westcott and Hort, published on May 12, 1881, and in the almost simultaneous appearance of the Revised Version. The one represented the furthest point which had been reached by the pioneers of the science ; the other represented the hold which the principles advocated by them had obtained upon

[§] In *The Expositor* for January, February, and March, 1882.

scholarly opinion. But though one side only was represented in the published texts, it would have been a mistake to suppose that the acquiescence in their conclusions was universal. It would seem, indeed, that the specialists were mostly of one way of thinking, though protests were raised by Dr. Scrivener in his justly-celebrated *Introduction*^h, and still more emphatically by Dean Burgon in his work on *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark's Gospel*ⁱ; but it was in the circle just outside that of the specialists that dissent seemed to be strongest. Few of the leading commentators, Meyer, Godet, Wordsworth, adopted with any consistency the principles of the leading school: and among the outer public low and suppressed murmurs might have been occasionally heard. It was sufficiently clear that the little band of specialists which led the way with such logical determination had not carried with them the great body of opinion, though for a time the opposition was latent and passive. As might have been expected, the appearance of the Revised Version put an end to this state of things. It brought down the question from the secluded stillness of the schools into the streets and market-places; and now the many elements of resistance soon found a voice, while the chorus of protest which ran along the front rows of the opposition has scarcely concealed the weighty and significant silence of the larger masses who watchfully suspend their judgment until the experts have had their full say.

If the Revised Version had done nothing else it would have deserved well of the country and of Theology in general, by bringing to a head the latent distrust which had attended the advance of the critical school, and by causing its opponents to define and work out their

Develop-
ment of
counter-
theories.

^h Second Edition, 1874. A new edition is announced.

ⁱ Oxford and London, 1871.

views with greater precision than they had hitherto done. If the followers of Lachmann have developed their principles, so also is the counter-theory being rapidly developed^k. It has not as yet quite found its standing-ground, if one may judge by the untenable theories that are put forward ; but it is at least emerging from the chaos in which it has hitherto lain, and each amended hypothesis seems to shew some advance on the last. Little by little the problem is coming to be understood ; and that is a large step on the way to its being solved.

Main ob-
jects of
each.

Roughly speaking, it may be said that the Progressist school, represented by the followers of Lachmann, aims at discovering the *oldest attested* text, getting at this inferentially by somewhat circuitous processes, where it cannot be done directly. The Conservative school, on the other hand, would present the text that is *fullest and most readable*, insisting strongly upon the fact that some of the passages that are cut out by the critical process are just those that bear the strongest internal marks of genuineness, and upon the further fact that these disputed portions, and generally the great mass of disputed matter, if it has not precisely the oldest attestation, makes up for this defect by the numerical weight of the witnesses that can be adduced for it.

Three
necessary
conces-
sions : the
first.

Now there are several concessions that must be made to this point of view. It must be conceded that the Received Text represents *substantially* that which was current in a large part of Christendom at the end of the fourth century. The extent of the agreement is, I believe, apt to be somewhat exaggerated, but speaking generally it does exist ; and I do not doubt that the most scholarly members of the school, in con-

^k See especially *The Quarterly Review*, Nos. 304, 305, 306 ; and Canon Cook's *Revised Version of the First Three Gospels*. (London, 1882.)

structing a critical text in accordance with their principles, would take care not to travel very far away from Chrysostom, and Theodoret, and the oldest documents which present a similar text, such as the Alexandrian MS. of the Gospels.

It must be conceded further, that if this text, as ^{The second.} a whole, and in its distinctive features, is not demonstrably ancient, there are, nevertheless, large elements in it, viz. those adopted from what are technically called the Western or Alexandrian texts, which do possess very ancient attestation. A logical fallacy is apt to creep in here. It is argued that because this or that particular in the Antiochene fourth-century text can be traced back to the second century, therefore the whole text has a like antiquity. The truth being—at least on the counter hypothesis—that this Antiochene text is eclectic, and embodies portions of older texts which ceased to maintain a separate and independent existence.

It must be conceded lastly, that for the formal construction of such an eclectic text we have little or no ^{The third.} direct historical testimony. All that we have that can be called such is the few lines in which Jerome speaks of the textual activity of Lucian of Antioch, who is inferred from his relation to the great Antiochene teachers to have laid the foundation of the text which they used. This is a conjecture, which has perhaps some, but not by any means unqualified, probability. When it is said that the Peshito Version also represents a recension of an older version, we are quite without direct evidence for this assertion. It is not difficult for the Quarterly Reviewer, who has proved such a trenchant champion of the Received Text, to make full capital out of this absence of evidence, and to draw a caricatured picture of the process assumed to have taken place, in order to make the absence of direct evidence still more glaring¹.

¹ *Quarterly Review*, No. 306, p. 336 f.

Internal
evidence
from ana-
lysis of
text.

But it should be remembered that direct evidence is not the only kind of evidence. Internal indications may amount to proof as strong as any external testimony. And when one thinks how very incomplete our knowledge is, not only of the earlier Christian centuries, but even of one so active as the fourth, it will not seem strange if such external testimony is wanting. When it is said that the Peshito Version, and the Antiochene or Syrian types of text represent different stages in a process of revision, this is simply an expression of certain facts which either side in the critical controversy must equally account for. Suddenly, towards the end of the fourth century, we meet with a peculiar type of text which we do not, in its characteristic features, meet with before. In the dated writings of the preceding period we find traces of three distinct lines of text, one localised in Egypt and Alexandria, while another is supported by authorities that are chiefly either Latin or Syrian, and the third not localised, but consisting of a common element found in either or both of these regions. This third text is what Lachmann and his school conceive to represent the line of true transmission. From the fourth century onwards the two remaining lines gradually disappear as independent types of text, and a mixed text made up of elements from both of them takes their place. This mixed text it is which has become the foundation of our *Textus Receptus*. But the supposition that it is based on a revision, or recension, is only another way of stating the fact that it is mixed. When one state of things has existed for three centuries, and another state of things suddenly supersedes it, that supersession implies a change, by whatever name it may be called. Revision, or recension, is very probably an inadequate name. We know too little of the circumstances to say precisely by what means the

The sup-
posed re-
cension.

change was brought about. It is very possible that other causes may have been at work besides conscious revision by editors or scribes. Not a little may be due to the destruction of Christian books in the persecution of Diocletian. This would naturally take effect unequally in different districts. Thus the old balance of one district against another would be disturbed, and the centre which was most active in supplying books to make good the ravages of the persecution, would naturally acquire a disproportionate influence. Many accidental causes of this kind might operate which we have no longer any means of ascertaining. But the absence of evidence to shew *how* the change took place does not affect the fact that there *is* a change. The fact itself is patent to any one who will simply analyse the *apparatus criticus* of a few chapters in different parts of the Greek text; and this fact is independent of any theories as to its origin.

There are abundant analogies to shew the existence of a similar process elsewhere. It is said that *f* (*Codex Brixianus*) presents a recension of the Old Latin. That it does so may be seen by comparing its text in Bianchini's *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*^m, with that of the other *codices* printed above it. But what external statement have we to throw any light on this? Not the slightest statement of any kind, unless it be the hint of St. Augustine about the *Versio Italica*. The multiplicity of *codices* of the Old Latin that have come down to us shew what a varied history that version must have had. But it is a history entirely without a historian. The external statements bearing upon it are scanty in the extreme. Its course has to be recovered almost entirely by analysis. The truth is that the exciting topics among the early Christians were questions of doctrine or ecclesiastical order; and such

Something perhaps due to Diocletian's persecution.

Other instances of unrecorded recension.

^m Reprinted by Migne. (Paris, 1845.)

minutiæ as those of textual criticism attracted little notice, however active the *scriptoria* may have been. It has been so in all ages. Historians record what will interest their readers, and what interested the writers of the chronicles on which they base their histories; but there is many a detail which the critic of an after generation can only supply by laborious inquiry.

The mistake which the advocates of the traditional text especially seem to make is that of attacking at once the most obscure and difficult readings, as if the whole position could be carried with a rush like the lines of Tel el Kebir, and as if it were possible to dispense with sap and trench and all the regular operations of siege. I have myself collected a considerable body of materials with a view to this more formal process; and I hope before very long to reduce them to shape, and offer them in a published form as a contribution to the debates that are now going on. In any case, the present aspect of the textual question is such as to raise high expectations. The very keenness of the opposition promises close and severe discussion, which can hardly be brought to a close without leaving a definite and well-assured result behind.

Revival in
English
theology.

IV. The last ten years, it must be admitted, have seen a very considerable revival in English theology.

Though there are many departments in which we still lag a long way behind the Germans, and some which are still almost a blank, not a little has been done to make up the arrears of the past, and on more than one point English scholars have distinctly borne away the palm. I can only remotely connect with my subject such well-planned, and on the whole admirably executed, schemes as the *Dictionaries of Christian Antiquities and Biography*, which I believe are acknowledged to be inferior to nothing of their kind, or patristic

editions like those of Mr. P. E. Pusey, and quite recently Dr. Swete's beautifully complete and scholarly edition of the Commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Nearer to my subject would be Dr. Field's magnificent edition of the Hexapla, which does honour to our own Press that published it, as well as to its author. And I should have a right to mention a work so directly connected with Biblical study as the systematic survey of Palestine, carried out under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund. In Hebrew it will not be necessary for me to mention here in Oxford names which will at once occur to every one, while Cambridge, Dublin, and Scotland are also doing good work. Coming to the New Testament, we have first the wide field of Textual Criticism, at which we have just been glancing. Here, if anywhere, our country holds its own. Even in Tischendorf's lifetime we had a critic second only to him (and not second in point of critical judgment) in Tregelles. Since his death the primacy surely belongs to Drs. Westcott and Hort, whose great work is described in Germany itself as "epoch making." On the opposite side, England has been most prolific in searching criticism of the views which those scholars propound. And even in Exegesis proper—the subject which now lies specially before us—though it is true that the great activity of English printing-presses during the last ten, and still more during the last five years, has conduced more on the whole to the popularising and diffusion than to the deepening of knowledge, still this last, too, has not by any means been wanting. I wish to refer especially to the contribution to Biblical Exegesis made in the completion of *The Speaker's Commentary*. I do this the more because I doubt if justice has been done to it. As a rule, English work receives a generous recognition on the Continent; and yet a few lines are all that I have seen given to the last three volumes of this Commentary,

Exegesis
proper.

The
Speaker's
Com-
mentary.

which, whatever the general estimate put upon them, certainly contain matter of real importance. This apparent neglect may be due in part to the fact that the Old Testament portion of the Commentary did not rise to a high standard, and thus the case was apt to be prejudged in respect to the New. There is also in these volumes, as in the earlier ones, a marked inequality of treatment. Very good work and indifferent work will be found side by side. Of criticism, in the sense in which Germans understand the word, there is not a great deal, and what there is, though adequate to its purpose, will be liable to be put aside as "apologetic". The standpoint of the work is throughout "Conservative." But I am not at present speaking so much of the Introductions, able as some few of them are; I have in view especially that which comes under my present heading of Exegesis proper. In this respect it is not difficult to pick out portions of the Commentary which will bear comparison with the best that has been done elsewhere. Meyer's is the standard commentary in Germany; and one may say outside of Germany as well, for there are few commentaries that are not more or less based upon his. And yet—if I am not deceived by insular partiality or defective judgment—there is not a little of the work in these later volumes which comes up to the level of Meyer's, just in the points where he is strongest, in sound and accurate philology. Dr. Gifford, on Romans, is as exact and scientific, though not possessing quite Meyer's vigorous incisiveness. Dr. Waite (whom I am proud to claim as a representative of the Northern University with which I have been lately as-

Its contribution to Exegesis.

^a I notice, with much regret, that some of the leading Continental critics, who began with a more elevated tone, now seldom lose an opportunity to sneer at "apologists" and "apologetics." When shall we have done calling each other names, and awakening irrelevant prejudices? The only result is to shut up each party in its own exclusiveness and self-sufficiency. Surely truth is truth, from whatever quarter it comes.

sociated) on 2 Corinthians may be somewhat inferior to Meyer in terseness, but to scholarship equal to his adds a literary finish and elegance of form at which Meyer does not aim. These last qualities, apparent especially in the English renderings, come out (as might be expected) in the Commentary on St. James by a former holder of this chair. But the two Commentaries which bear the strongest stamp of individuality, and which may be best held up as representing our national scholarship, are Dr. Westcott's on St. John, and that by Canon Evans on 1 Corinthians. These two are, to some extent, contrasted. Perhaps the most conspicuous excellence of Dr. Westcott's work is its thoroughness and completeness. The circumspect eye of the commentator leaves nothing unnoticed, and treats all with the same maturity of judgment, the same sympathetic insight, and in the same evenly-balanced proportion. Not so Canon Evans. His characteristic merits are not evenness and completeness; there is a large class of questions which clearly have little interest for him. There are no discursive side-lights, no illustrative essays on the problems raised by the Epistle, on Church polity or Church order. All his forces are concentrated on the Exegesis and on the Greek, and not quite in equal proportions even upon these. Perhaps the concentration is fortunate; for the outlying questions are comparatively easy to deal with; they need little more than extensive reading, provided only that there is a sound exegetical basis to start from. But within these self-assigned limits what mastery is there! What consummate knowledge both of Greek and of language in general! What mature and profound study is often compressed into a phrase! What originality and force in the Exegesis, so that the Epistle seems to stir and throb again with resuscitated life! Not seldom does the eminent English scholar measure his strength against the eminent German; and, as I cannot but

Importance of exact scholarship.

Advice to students.

think, rarely, if at all, with an adverse result. The one can strike deep into a difficult passage, but the other will "delve a yard below his mines." Let me commend to the notice of any one who wishes to test this the notes on chapters like 1 Corinthians vi. or ix., where the difficulties lie chiefly in the Greek^o. It is much to be regretted that the Revision Committee had not this Commentary before them, as it might have saved them from some rather serious errors. The further my own experience extends, the more I am convinced of the great importance of this exact scholarship, which probes to its inmost depths the meaning of every word, which leaves nothing to hasty and superficial guess-work, but proceeds according to strict philological laws in all their rigour, yet in all their flexibility. I say this with a keen consciousness of my own deficiencies in this respect. What sincere endeavour can do shall be done, though I am well aware that no amount of reading can make a true scholar of one who does not possess the gift and faculty by nature. I see that in his very valuable hints to Theological Students at Cambridge (which may be equally recommended to our own students here) Dr. Westcott gives rather bold advice on the subject of commentaries. "These," he says, "should not be consulted until the text has been carefully examined without them. Where this has been done they serve to clear up difficulties which have been really felt, and to point out others which have been overlooked^p." Admirable advice certainly, for those who are strong enough to follow it; but I fear that it will be a counsel of perfection to the average student.

^o Good examples would be the note on 1 Cor. vii. 21, compared with Meyer's note on the same passage, or the characteristic note by Bp. Lightfoot (*Colossians*, p. 390 f.), the note on *καθίστημι*, *S. C.* p. 286, or the beautiful solution of a difficulty that has baffled all previous commentators, p. 303 f.

^p *The Student's Guide to the Univ. of Cambridge*, Part IV. p. 24.

And yet commentaries are really crutches, which he must learn, sooner or later, to cast away. Though it may be rather a hopeless task to attack the difficult Epistles of St. Paul without such helps, he should make a point of going through his Epistle at least once in the course of his reading without them. It is difficult to lay down general rules : most earnest students find out by practice what method of reading best suits them. One man is slow and careful ; another goes through his work rapidly and repeatedly. There is advantage in both methods, and it is well, if possible, to combine them. The minute study of each detail is essential ; but the rapid survey helps to gather the threads of thought together, and to give a grasp upon the sense and place in history of a writing as a whole. The knowledge of the whole and the knowledge of its parts cannot be separated. Each in turn sheds its light upon the other.

I cannot delay now to go into any minute discussion of the comparative merits of the host of commentaries among which the student will have to make his choice. I have spoken of one series only, and that the most accessible. But it will be my duty from time to time to recommend commentaries on particular books, both English and foreign. The most conspicuous recent event in Germany is probably the re-issue of Meyer's Commentaries under the editorship of Weiss, Wendt, Heinrici, Sieffert, and others. Meyer himself was not strong in textual criticism ; and this department has been much improved in the later editions, especially those which are under the care of Dr. Weiss. In Switzerland, Godet has lately added Romans to his well-known and deservedly popular series, and the same Epistle has been ably commented on by the Genevan Professor, Hugues Oltramare.

VI. The Exegesis of the New Testament is not an independent or isolated study. It touches, and in some

Recent
comment-
aries.

Studies
subsidiary
to Exege-
sis.

Zeitge-
schichten.

cases rests upon, a number of other studies. The New Testament lies within a framework of general history, Jewish and Gentile, a knowledge of which is essential to its comprehension. Hence the Germans have introduced a special form of literature, to which they give the name of *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichten*. This takes in all the surrounding and preliminary data of the New Testament history. In English we have, to the best of my knowledge, nothing exactly like it, as all these external materials are usually combined with a working-up of the New Testament history itself. It is so in the *Lives of Christ* by Farrar and Geikie; and it is so in the very clear, interesting, and judicious, if somewhat miscellaneous, volume called *The Beginnings of Christianity*¹, by Prof. G. P. Fisher, of Yale College, U.S.A. Distinctly the best *Zeitgeschichte* with which I am acquainted is that by Prof. Schürer, of Giessen². For method, lucidity, and sobriety of judgment this is really quite a model book of its kind. Indeed I know of no Continental writer whose utterances on all points with which he may deal are so well worthy of attention. I should be glad to think that I was mistaken in supposing that he (like his colleague, the eminent patristic scholar, Dr. Harnack) has of late fallen rather more into the groove that seems habitual with his countrymen. In 1874 when his *Zeitgeschichte* was written, there was no writer in any language who was at once so independent, and who seemed to approach so nearly to real (not professed) impartiality. There is another good book on the same subject by Dr. Hausrath³, though rather more advanced, and certainly less judicious.

Geo-
graphy.

For Biblical Geography the great event is, of course, the English survey of Palestine, with the comments

¹ New York, 1877. ² *Lehrbuch d. ntl. Zeitgeschichte*. (Leipzig, 1874.)

³ Now translated under the auspices of the Theological Translation Fund.

upon it in the *Journals* of the English and German Societies. There are, however, a few points in the geography of Palestine, bearing on the New Testament, that are still undetermined. Of these still unsettled points, by far the most important is the group of questions relating to the topography of Jerusalem. Even these seem to be on the way to at least a probable settlement. Outside Palestine there are several places, such as Derbe, Lystra, Phoenix, still not identified, unless we may accept the site proposed for the last by the late Mr. Smith, of Jordan-hill, whose monograph on St. Paul's Voyage and Shipwreck is another model work of its kind. I do not know that (except in Jerusalem) there is much fresh illustration to be expected in the way of geography; though it is of course far too late in the day for a note to appear like that respecting the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, in the *Speaker's Commentary on the Acts*: "Leake pronounced that not a fragment on the spot can be assigned with certainty, and that even the site cannot be ascertained." The question as to the nationality of the Galatians, and the use of the name Galatia, may be said to have been argued out with a definite result in favour of the received view. There remains, however, the possibility that some Teutonic tribes may have been mixed up with a preponderating body of Celts.

As to Chronology, there is a sort of gravitation, Chrono-
logy. in England at least, towards a general scheme, most of the items of which cannot claim more than a greater or less degree of probability. There are only two open questions which involve considerable divergence: (1) the date of the Crucifixion, involving the rest of the chronology of the Gospel narratives; and (2) the date of the death of St. Paul. In regard to the first of these, it will be remembered that Keim proposed a date considerably later than that most commonly

accepted, A.D. 36, instead of A.D. 30. In this he has been followed by Hausrath and several others. I have, however, little hesitation; so far as my own judgment goes, in pronouncing against this view, which can only be adopted through a general *bouleversement* of the New Testament data. There is, however, one point of some little importance which I do not think has ever been quite thoroughly gone into. It is commonly supposed that the daughter of Herodias, who danced before Herod, was Salome, who married Herod Philip, the tetrarch of Ituræa and Trachonitis. But on Keim's theory, at the time when she danced at the court of Antipas, she was a widow within a year of her husband's death, which is not very credible. It is not, however, quite certain that the girl was Salome. There is a remarkable reading in Mark vi. 22, supported by the strong authority of Codd. $\aleph$ B D L Δ , and admitted into the margin of the Revised Version, "his daughter Herodias," for "the daughter of Herodias herself," thus making mother and daughter bear the same name. It would not be a conclusive argument against this that this child of shame is not otherwise mentioned in history. The circumstances of her birth would condemn her to obscurity, and she may have died young. There are, however, some complications in the chronology. The state of the case seems to stand thus. Against the common reading it may be urged that in the year 29 Salome, who was left a widow in A.D. 34, might perhaps barely (but not more than barely) be described as *κοράσιον*; while the other reading would throw back the beginning of Herod's connexion with Herodias to the years 20 or 21. This would then have to be reconciled with the history of his relations to the daughter of Aretas. Josephus says that at the time when Herodias joined him (which may, indeed, have been some little time after his first connexion with her) he had then

been married to the daughter of Aretas for a considerable time (*συνῆν χρόνον ἤδη πολύν*)[†]. He also speaks of the repudiation of Aretas' daughter as the *beginning* (be it observed) of the quarrel which led to the war between Antipas and the Arabian king in the year 36. A closer examination would be needed in order to balance the arguments on both sides more precisely—or rather, perhaps, to determine the possibility of the best authenticated reading.

I venture still to believe in the release and second imprisonment of St. Paul. The silence of the Acts seems to tell rather for than against it. Whatever may be the true account of the seemingly, but perhaps not really, abrupt close of the book, if St. Paul's two years' imprisonment had really terminated with his execution this could hardly have failed to be mentioned. And in the blank space which follows the close of the Acts, if there is little positive evidence for the events assigned to it, there is still less reason against them. The question is thus left open to be determined by the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles, and with their genuineness the second imprisonment seems to me to stand or fall.

For the Archæology of the New Testament much Archæology. has been done, though it is probable that much still remains to do. To more than one disputed question Numismatics are capable of contributing. It is con-Numis- matics. tended by Wieseler, McClellan, and others that the fifteenth year of Tiberius in Luke iii. i. is reckoned not from the death of Augustus in A.D. 14, but from the admission of Tiberius to joint authority over the provinces two years earlier. In support of this view Wieseler appeals not only to some general evidence, but also to the direct evidence of coins. Two coins of the Syrian Antioch are quoted, bearing the head of

[†] *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. v. 1, 4.

Tiberius, with the inscription *ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ*, and the date 43-44 of the Actian era, which is equivalent to 12-13 A.D., when Augustus was still reigning. It would be permissible to suspect some mistake here. Two other coins, however, are said to bear on one side the head of Tiberius, described as in the fifteenth year of his tribunician power (i.e. 13 A.D.), and on the other the head of Augustus. An inscription is also given speaking of the *Κυρίων Σεβαστῶν*, about the same date^u. I have nowhere seen a full discussion of this evidence, upon which it would be interesting to know the opinion of professed numismatologists. If this mode of reckoning the reign of Tiberius could be allowed (and it is only contended that it might have been used from the point of view of a provincial over whom Tiberius began to exercise authority in A.D. 12), the chronology of the Gospels would hang together more satisfactorily.

Inscriptions.

The appeal to an inscription will serve to remind us of a new field which is now being opened so freely to the student of antiquity, in which general term the New Testament is necessarily included. Among the first to make a systematic use of inscriptions for the illustration of the New Testament was Bishop Lightfoot, in such essays as that on "Cæsar's household" in his commentary on Philippians, and elsewhere in his commentaries. Another good example of their employment would be Dr. Schürer's monograph, *Die Gemeindefassung der Fuden in Rom*^x. And here in Oxford we have had a conspicuous instance of the use which may be made of inscriptions to clear up the meaning of obscure terms in Mr. Hatch's *Bampton Lectures*. No difference of opinion as to the total estimate of all the evidence presented should be allowed to detract from

^u See Wieseler *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien*, Gotha, 1869, p. 187 ff.

^x Leipzig, 1879.

our recognition of the originality and research displayed in this able book. Nor is this the only branch in which we may look for important contributions to knowledge by the same writer. Besides the elaborate Concordance to the LXX. which he has in charge, I hope I shall be breaking no secret if I allude to the large collection of philological data which he has made with a view to the illustration of the Greek of the New Testament. It is difficult to imagine a more useful work. It is generally admitted that the old collections of Wetstein, Kypke, Krebs, Loesner, &c., valuable as they are, are insufficient. Much material has been recently added in the able and laborious work of Dr. McClellan^y, which, just because it does not fall in with the main currents of opinion, has not met with all the acknowledgment that it deserves. Another series of most valuable gleanings is offered to us in the beautifully scholarly notes of Dr. Field, forming the third part of his *Otium Norvicense*^z. I would fain see in systematic collections of this kind a task specially suited to the Baconian traditions of English science, and one full of hope and promise for the future. Besides the contributions that may be looked for to the lexicology of the New Testament, it must not be thought that the Grammar of Hellenistic Greek is by any means a closed book. There are several questions which at present press for a decision, and for which a decision can only be given by a wide induction. It is admitted on all hands that New Testament Greek is Greek in process of deterioration; but it is not so easy to define the precise stage which this deterioration has reached. For this, as well as for the answer to several detailed questions, we must look to further enquiry. I ought not to forget to mention, and to recommend, the very instructive articles on points in Greek grammar dis-

^y *The New Testament*, Vol. I. (London, 1875.)

^z Oxford, 1881.

cussed by Canon Evans in a series of articles in the *Expositor* during the late and the current year^a.

History of
ideas and
doctrines.

There yet remains one subject which is an important auxiliary to Exegesis,—the history of ideas and doctrines both in the period just before, and in that just after, the founding of Christianity. Here is a wide field, in which both English and Continental scholars are actively at work. Such books as Professor James Drummond's *Jewish Messiah*, Dr. G. P. Fisher's *Beginnings of Christianity*, Dr. Siegfried's *Philo von Alexandria*, Dr. C. Taylor's *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, Mr. W. H. Lowe's *Fragment of Talmud Babli Pesachim*, and forthcoming edition from an unique MS. of the Jerusalem Mishna, Dr. A. Wünsche's *Erläuterung der Evangelien aus Talmud und Midrasch*, and, perhaps first of all in promise of immediate practical utility, Dr. Weber's *System der altsynagogalen Theologie*, are all works in point, and there are probably not a few others.

Inferential
Exegesis.

VI. The transition from studies preliminary and subsidiary to the study of the New Testament to those in which New Testament matter itself is worked up, is an easy one, and the line which separates them is not very clearly marked. After what has been already said it will not be necessary to do more than allude to such histories of the whole or part of the New Testament period as those of Renan, Farrar, Geikie, Keim, Weiss, and a number of others, in which the New Testament data occupy the foreground of the canvas.

Biblical
Theology.

The one subject which seems best to deserve the name of "Inferential Exegesis" is that of Biblical Theology. Here it is not as under the last head, where the subjects mentioned contributed data to Exegesis, but the converse relation holds good. Exegesis not only contributes to Biblical Theology, but supplies, if not quite the whole, yet by far the greater part of the material

^a See *The Expositor* for January, March, June, 1882, February 1883.

for it. The subject is one that has been strangely neglected in England. As a separate branch of Theological Science it may be said to be practically non-existent. The student is obliged to go abroad for his manuals. Of these the *Théologie Chrétienne* of Reuss is perhaps the best known, though Ritschl's *Lehre von der Rechtfertigung*, the *Biblische Theologie* of Weiss, and the *Paulinismus* of Pfleiderer are now also translated ^b. In Germany the subject is pursued with great activity. After the names that I have mentioned, that of Dr. C. Holsten is probably the most prominent.

Excellent as the works of most of these writers are, and valuable as is the basis which they would supply to any one who should come after them, I cannot but think that it is desirable that we should have a manual which should be rather more of a native product. The phraseology of Biblical Theology is apt to be rather largely influenced by that of Philosophy ; and the dialect of German philosophy is not quite easily assimilated by the English reader.

The subject is one which seems to have a natural affinity to our studies here ; and as a line of study I believe that it is difficult to overrate its importance. It is the one aspect of theology which seems best calculated to furnish not only an intellectual exercise, but a religious motive-power. At a time when Criticism has acquired such great prominence, and the critical attitude has become natural to so many minds, it seems well that there should be some other agency at work which should be more constructive. And it seems to me that Biblical Theology is such an agency. I do not of course deny that it, too, must be critical ; and yet the constructive side seems naturally to predominate. To obtain a deeper and more connected

Importance of the subject.

^b The translation of Reuss' work is published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton, those of Ritschl and Weiss by Messrs. T. and T. Clark, and that of Pfleiderer by the Theol. Transl. Fund.

insight into the words of our Lord, to live over again, as it were, the lives of St. Paul and St. John, to enter into their thoughts, and see how they arise and how they are linked one to another, is surely as stimulating and strengthening an influence as any that can be brought to bear on the human mind. It is one from which I cannot help expecting great things. If we are to have a deeper and more penetrating, a simpler, stronger, and more elemental religion, commending itself as powerfully to the reason as to the heart, it is in this direction I believe that it is to be sought.

History
and Me-
thod of
Exegesis.

VII. My last head was the History and Method of Exegesis. I said at the outset that I did not think this a very pressing subject. The history of Exegesis is no doubt interesting; and here again there is a lack of English books, and we are obliged to go abroad to works like Diestel's *History of the Old Testament*, and Reuss' History, which is now complete for the Old Testament as well as for the New. The moral of such books is a simple one. They shew that the allegorical method, while it starts from a real and true reverence for Scripture, impoverishes instead of enriching it. Christianity is thus reduced to a number of commonplaces, which are shuffled about like so many counters. It was much easier to fit on one of these commonplaces to a difficult passage than to get at its true meaning. Thus the depth and the variety of Scripture are lost, and all is brought to one dead level of comparatively superficial truths, out of which much of the sap of life is gone. The rejection of allegory, however, does not by any means imply the rejection of a double, and in many cases manifold sense in Scripture, the determination of which is not at all arbitrary, but turns on the fundamental relation of the different parts of the Christian system to each other, and on their many-sided application to life.

Weakness
of the
allegorical
method.

The patristic commentaries suffer much from a mistaken use of allegory ; and yet it should be remembered that they possess two distinct advantages : (1) the language of the New Testament, which is to us dead, was to them living, so that they cannot be otherwise than valuable authorities on the subject of Greek idiom ; and (2) some of the Fathers who offend most in the way of allegory were supreme in spiritual insight, and frequently present the highest truths about God and man in a most forcible and telling way. Even those who did not possess this spiritual intuition in the same degree had special excellences of their own. The clear and quick intelligence of Chrysostom, the good sense of Theodoret, and the keen understanding of his master, Theodore of Mopsuestia, the wide learning and admirably vivacious and pointed style of Jerome, whose Vulgate Dr. Routh considered to be the best of commentaries,—all these have their place in the interpretation of Scripture. It is one of the traditions of the English Church to pay due regard to patristic exegesis, and one from which I hope not to depart.

The methods of Exegesis proper are, as I have said, sufficiently ascertained. But there is another branch in which there is much, and indeed almost everything, still to do. It seems to me that we greatly need a thorough discussion of the methods of Biblical Criticism. At present the whole subject is in a state of little less than chaos. Arguments on both sides fail to convince, because there is no common measure between the disputants. One assumes one set of principles, and another another ; and in neither case have the principles themselves been really tested and verified. Such questions as these, for instance, sadly need to be determined : What is the true force of the linguistic argument from resemblances and differences of style?

Patristic
comment-
aries.

Methods
of Biblical
Criticism.

What should be the conditions and limits of its application? Constantly one finds the most opposite conclusions drawn from the very same data. Again, how far is silence equivalent to negation, whether as regards single facts, or as regards the use and authority of books? Again, what kind of historical divergences are important, and what are unimportant? and what precisely do they prove? Again, how far may the growth of dogma be used as an argument for determining data? What criteria can be applied, and to what extent are they trustworthy? What is the value of early tradition? If it varies in value (as no doubt it does), under what conditions is it strongest or weakest? I cannot but think that there are a number of propositions like these, involving the suppressed major premiss of most critical reasoning, which need to be fixed in a far more satisfactory manner than they are, if any general agreement on critical questions is to be obtained. It ought to be possible to lay down some sort of general rules or canons, or at least to give clear examples of positions which are tenable and of others which are not. Neither in Germany nor in England, so far as I am aware, has this been done. The few hints on the subject in Dr. McClellan's *Gospels*^c serve chiefly to shew how wide the divergence is.

Review of
desiderata.

It will be seen that in the course of this review I have mentioned a great number of what seem to me to be *desiderata*. One often hears it said in regard to other subjects that there is nothing to be done, that all the ground is occupied already, that the market is glutted with books, and that a young man who wishes to study and write can find nothing to write about. It is certainly not so in Theology. Even in this limited portion of that wide subject there is abundant occupation for many years to come. In regard

^c P. 375 ff.

to the Canon, there is room both for monographs on particular points, and also, as I ventured to suggest, for a work on certain lines dealing with the whole subject. In regard to Introduction, there is equal room both for monographs and for a comprehensive treatment. In regard to Text, there is an almost endless field lying open. Not to speak of the threshing out of the main question of Textual Criticism as applied to the New Testament, a systematic collation of MSS. and re-editing of writings is wanted. At present there is quite a dead-lock. Even as regards the New Testament results are partly unsatisfactory, and the Old Testament can hardly be approached at all until a mass of work of this kind has been done. Philo, Josephus, and a number of the early Fathers, need to be carefully gone over and critically edited. As to Exegesis, the field is more limited ; and here I would discourage rather than encourage the work of young students. There are now so many books, and so good, on most parts of the New Testament, that only a first-rate scholar can hope to contribute anything of real value ; still there are perhaps openings (so far as the English reader is concerned) in the Acts, in that most difficult book, the Epistle to the Hebrews, in the Pastoral and Catholic Epistles, and I would add the Synoptic Gospels, but that these demand a combination and maturity of gifts such as is rarely found. The grammar of the New Testament is still some way from finality ; the vocabulary requires, and will probably receive, copious illustration. Inscriptions, as I have said, are not quite a virgin soil, but I imagine that only the surface has as yet been turned. Biblical Theology is still a vacant place in English literature ; and equally vacant, as I have just been shewing, is any discussion as to the principles of Biblical Criticism. These last two subjects would both, perhaps, require a certain maturity and width of reading. But the

subject of all others in which youthful workers have a truly golden opportunity is Text. We want an army of trained collators dispersed through all the libraries of Europe. It is a misfortune that work of this kind should not at first be remunerative. But I would suggest the formation of a Theological Texts Society, which should collect subscriptions in order to subsidise such undertakings. Prizes might also be offered for distinguished work in *Critica Sacra* in the Theological School. I lay much stress upon this particular subject, not because it is first in dignity, but because it is first in necessity, as a number of other subjects are being kept waiting for it, and also because it is a good subject on which to make a beginning.

Pro-
gramme of
lectures.

For the same reason I propose myself to take an early opportunity of lecturing upon the Textual Criticism of the New Testament. I should do so with reference to the requirements of the Schools, but I should try at the same time to lay some preparation for Textual Criticism in general. The main staple, however, of the lectures from this Chair must be Exegesis strictly so-called. In that, incidentally, most of the other subjects I have mentioned must be touched upon. In taking, as I propose to take, the Epistle to the Romans, my first duty would be to sketch in outline the Introduction to the Epistle, including its place in the Canon, and, when that was done, to proceed to the closer study of the text, not on a scale too extensive to be practical, but by the best methods that I can.

Respon-
sibilities of
the Chair.

When I think of the accomplished theologian whom I succeed in this Chair, it seems to me as if I should indeed speak with "stammering lips and with another tongue." Those who attend my lectures must, I fear, be prepared for not a little embarrassment and unreadiness of speech, too much unlike the eloquent and finished style to which they have been accustomed.

And yet if anything could inspire a halting utterance, surely it is a position such as this. Here, in this fountain-head of the national life, this middle point of English civilisation, from which, as from some great artery, streams are constantly flowing to vivify and invigorate each tingling limb of our Empire : here, in the training-ground of our teachers and clergy, on whom the spiritual and moral health of such vast masses of our population depend ; to be commissioned to plant deeper and yet deeper in receptive and enthusiastic minds the mighty thoughts which breathe and burn in this book so familiar to us all, which the oldest and wisest among us has yet not learned to fathom ; to be commissioned to impart something of the victorious wrestlings with great problems which characterise St. Paul, something of the practical earnestness and clearsightedness of St. James, something of the interwoven doctrine and moralising of St. Peter, and of the soaring intuitions of St. John, some far-off touch—if so it may be—of the serene and tranquil wisdom of Him round Whom the rest revolve like planets round a sun ; to bear this commission is a task which is, indeed, staggering in its magnitude and responsibility, and yet, from its very magnitude, also inspiring. And there is always this immense support and consolation, that neither he that planteth is anything, nor he that watereth, but God who giveth the increase. I undertake my office in the hope that He may be pleased to set in motion those vitalising and fructifying forces, without which no human efforts can avail, and with which the poorest and feeblest efforts have often been crowned with a quite disproportionate reward.

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